

National Congress Number

• YOUNG INDIA

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Todi Ragini

An Indian Painting

Latest British Jugglery—"Home Rule"

Why India rejects it

The Indian National Congress

Its inception and growth

Another Tale of Horror

As told by British officials

1400 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

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Our Art Section

Todi Ragini

By ANANDA CHANDANAKRISHNAN

Sea of illustrations to the *Rajasthani* or garlands of poems describing the story in words of Indian music, are a famous theme of Rajasthani poetry, especially in Rajasthani. The Indian mode (*Raga* or *Ragini*) is a series of progressions in which a selection of not more than seven out of twenty-two notes of the scale is employed. It serves as a 'melody model' or skeleton-model for the composition of songs and instrumental music, and in a old Greek mode, each mode has its own peculiar character, expressing and evoking definite emotions. The *Rajasthani* poems have for their theme the emotions appropriate to each emotion—usually phases of love in words and love in experience—and describe these emotions in the traditional phrases of Indian rhetoric. These formulas in turn affect the dactyl for the paintings, which depict the relation of the hero and heroine and the minutiae of their emotions in response to that of the poems, lyrics, and elements.

The picture reproduced on this page is that of Todi Ragini, and shows a woman with a lotus (rose) in a grove of trees, a deer attracted by the music is coming from her hand. It is a day scene, and rain is falling from heavy clouds.

This picture is one of a nineteenth century Rajasthani scene in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (reproduced also in the Metropolitan Museum of New York), a most remarkable quality for during daughtenship and glowing

colour. The drawing is reduced to the most summary, though highly expressive, formulae—especially as in the contrapuntal Priests (Hindu, etc.) words are reduced almost to silence their love notes. But this drawing, although so brilliant, is not, in most of the later Rajasthani (which are really more drawings) the essential elements have to be done with paintings rather than drawings, the treatment is plastic and the colour strong, rarely and dramatically expressive.

Rajasthani paintings showed in my opinion and consideration of an older rural art and of classic rhetoric, but no group of them are more successfully the past than of Indian art, nor offers clearer evidence of a direct descent from the Gupta and early medieval art of Ayaz, of which the composition may also be recognized in the Buddhist paintings of Nepal (Northern India) and in the illustrations of Jain manuscripts.

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TODI RAGINI

A Rajasthani painting representing a musical scene. 19th century. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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Editorial Notes

India's "Foreign Secretary"

Soon after the war came to an end and the censorship had been lifted, Young India tried to reach as many Indians and friends of India as possible in different parts of the world. We succeeded in establishing relationship with the Indian people and other sympathisers in Canada, Panama, Dutch West Indies, East and South Africa, Mauritius, P. I., Philippines, Japan, Persia, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, France and England. As the last named country we were in better able to be able to enter into communication with Mr. H. G. Tilak, the National leader of India, who was then in England as a delegate from the Indian National Congress. It was he who supplied us with funds in cash and encouraged us in our work. Up to that time he and other Indian leaders had not seen our magazine, Young India (which was then and still is detained by order of the British Indian Government from entering India) and they had little or no idea of the nature of the work which we were carrying on in this country. But as soon as Mr. Tilak was put in possession of a detailed account of our organisation, and its aims as he received an open letter addressed by Mr. Rajendra

to the Indian leaders who were then in England, he formulated a scheme for carrying on a world wide propaganda for India. On returning home from England he laid his scheme before the Congress in America, which enthusiastically took up the matter and appointed a committee of nine persons, with Mr. Tilak himself as its secretary, to carry the plan to practical realisation. This committee will collect the necessary funds and will select the personnel of the mission for the first year. These appear, on this committee, the name of Mr. Rajendra Kumar, who, according to Mr. Tilak's organ, *Swarn*, will be put in charge of the propaganda. Then Mr. R. K. who was the unofficial ambassador of India in this country, will now be the unofficial Foreign Secretary of the Indian Mission. We know of no other Indian leader who seems to us to possess so rich a qualification for this important position as Mr. R. K.

A Congress Resolution

All friends of Mr. Rajendra Kumar in this country will be glad to read the following resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at its session at Amritsar:

—Resolved, etc.

This Congress, doubtless recognize the valuable services rendered by Lala Brijpat Singh in the cause of India by his expert and all-combining efforts in constitutional questions in the United States of America, by representing the views of the Congress before the proper authorities there as the matter of India's demand for the self-government and self-determination and responds by his to continue his efforts in India."

A Special Congress

A special session of the Indian National Congress will be held in some in the report of Lord Hunter's Investigative Committee and that of the Investigative Committee appointed by the Congress are published. The date of the session will be announced later.

The regular session of the year Congress will be held in December at Nagpur, the capital of the Central Provinces.

A National Memorial

It is gratifying to note that the Jallianwala Bagh (park) where General Dyer exhibited his "terrors" and shed the whole park with blood to emphatically prove that his name "Dyer" was literally correct, is to be bought by the Indian National Congress. A resolution was passed to that effect at the last session. This Bagh (park) is to be maintained as a memorial to perpetuate the memory of those who were killed or wounded on April 21, 1919, during the massacre by General Dyer. A committee of six has been appointed to carry out the intentions of the Congress. We are told that the committee has already secured the necessary funds. The memorial will reach to the coming generation of India a perpetual and impressive lesson

as to the value of national freedom and the cruelty and injustice of foreign autocratic domination.

National Unity

It is generally recognized by the political leaders of India of all classes and creeds, that no task before the Indian people is more important than that of making strong the bonds of unity between the two great communities, the Hindus and the Mohammedans. This unity, which has been growing for some years and which has increased very greatly since the beginning of the Punjab tragedy last year, may be truly declared to mark a New Era in Indian national life.

The address of the President of the two great representative assemblies of India, the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, displayed in a conspicuous degree this spirit of unity. Both recognized that the success of India's great struggle for freedom and self rule depends upon this unity. Haidan Agajali Khan, President of the Muslim League, a considerable part of whose address was devoted to this subject called special attention to the fact that for some time past the Hindus have been making efforts to meet the Mohammedans more than half way. He exhorted his fellow Mohammedans to respond enthusiastically to all such efforts and thus build the New India which is the hope of both communities. Mr. Nehru, President of the Congress, urged his hearers to take note of the fact that "The Punjab officials had acted a blow at the most vulnerable point of India's political life, the union between the Mohammedans and Hindus."

One of the most shameful acts of the martial-law authorities, he declared, was that of publicly reflecting the Hindu-Muslim relations. During the closing days of the martial law regime, officials in the Punjab had made an attempt consciously to destroy or prevent this unity by forming separate associations for Hindus, Mohammedans and Sikhs. Both the Congress and the League expressed the strongest determination to do all that lay within their power to thwart all such attempts, and to help the people to understand that the will of the people and the freedom of India in the future will depend upon the relations everywhere among them of the spirit of unity, brotherhood and co-operation.

India's Colonial Status

Ever since the colonization of South and East Africa, in which large numbers of Hindus have emigrated as traders, artisans, laborers, etc., the Europeans in these colonies have endeavored in the most selfish and unjust ways to exploit Indian labor, and to reduce the Indians laborers to the condition of virtual serfdom. In South Africa laws have been enacted which deny the Hindus any right to own land or to conduct trade, which deprive them not only of political equality with Europeans but of practically all political rights, and which make it almost impossible for them to obtain education for their children. Under the guise of measures which seem there, the Europeans plainly have made the labor of the Indians virtually slave-labor, and have driven the laborers to such desperation that at

one time 20,000 of them went to jail in a body rather than give up their rights of property and trade.

For a number of years the Indian National Congress has condemned all this, and has sought to influence the British Government in India and also the Imperial Government in London to take measures to correct these injustices. This year the Congress has had a new task on its hands, namely that of protecting the Indians of East Africa, in as far as it has endeavored to protect them in South Africa. Attempts are being made in East Africa to drive all Indians out of trade and commerce. Still worse, an ordinance has been proposed, entitled "The Removal of Undesirable Colonists, 1920," which would enable the Governor of the Colony to prevent all further Indian immigration, and actually to deport to India large numbers of the Indians who are now in East Africa and have long been industrious and law-abiding residents there. One of the arguments employed by the Europeans to defend these unjust proceedings on their part is the charge that the Asiatic form of civilization which these Hindus have introduced into East Africa meets an unwelcome moral influence upon the character of the native Africans. This is not only a malicious but is utterly baseless allegation. It is employed by the Europeans simply to mask their injustice and greed, and as a means of suppressing the superiority of their own civilization and driving out competitors.

When the Congress in Amsterdam discussed this question, the whole atmosphere pulsated with indignation and protest. A resolution referring to it was

surrendered and supported by Mr. M. E. Glavin, who for twenty years led the Provo-Banquet Movement in South Africa, and had suffered under the rigour of the laws there. He made a strong appeal to the delegates to do their utmost to counteract the selfish and unjust schemes of the Europeans, and to defend the rights of their fellow-countrymen, not only in East Africa but wherever they are and by whomsoever their rights may be threatened.

Our Art Section

Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, the 'Keeper of Indian Art' in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, has consented to act as our Art Editor of *Young India*. We have arranged to publish with each issue of *Young India* a separate plate, to be selected by him, illustrating some of the most important examples of Indian art existing in the Museums of this country and elsewhere.

In this connection we may call attention to the fact that the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, has issued a series of eight picture postcards illustrating examples of Indian art. The illustrated leaflet of the Museum contains notices on the arts of India and Persia, as well as of China and Japan. The Bulletin of the Museum (Nov. 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30) contains illustrated articles on Indian art by Dr. Coomaraswamy. An article on Indian painting appears in 'Art in America' for February, 1920.

The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, possesses the most valuable collection of Indian paintings and sculptures in America. There is also an extensive reference library for Indian art and culture, and

a collection of two hundred plates and many thousands of photographs illustrating Indian architecture and painting. Special facilities are given to artists students. The Metropolitan Museum, New York, has also a collection of Indian works of art, including some important paintings and sculptures. The Pennsylvania Museum possesses the greater part of the stone sculptured work of a South Indian temple of the seventeenth century.

The most important European museums in which the art of India is represented are the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the India Office, London; the Rijks-Ethnographisch Museum, Leiden (Holland) and the Königliche Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin. In India there are important collections at Calcutta, Madras, Lahore, Malabar, Benares, Lucknow, Chandigarh, Patna, Bhopal, and in Ceylon at Colombo and Kandy.

Deportation

The Federal deportation proceedings against Mr. Dharm Kumar Sarkar, who was ordered last July on a charge of having violated American neutrality laws been withdrawn by the Department of Labor.

As we go to press we learn from our correspondent at Vancouver that one Mr. Samas Singh, "who had lived in Canada for over seven years, returned from India about three months ago. Since his arrival there, he had been under quarantine. Finally he got orders to be deported on the 'Empress of Russia.'" His case is being taken up by his friends there and an appeal to the Canadian courts is being filed by them.

Give Power to Suffer

By KAKINDRANATH TAGORE

(A Message to the Congress)

Guide us, Father, who have strayed far from Thee.
Our dwelling is sitting twice haunted by lowering shadows of fear.
Our heart is bent under the load of despair and we weep. Then when we grovel
to dust at every foot as those that crack our necks hold.
For thou art desecrated the dignity of Thee is us, Thy children,
For thou we put out the light and in our sleep the world is blind and Godless.
Yet I can never believe that You are lost to us, My King, though our poverty
is great and deep our shame.
Our will works behind the wall of despair and in Your eyes opens the gate of the
impossible.
You come at once Your own house into the unprepared hall on the unexpected days.
Darkness at Your touch becomes like a bad scorching cancer in its house the
friction of hell-fire.
Therefore, I will have hope not that the world will be mended but that a new
world will arise.
It is a Thy Will, let us rush into the thick of conflict and burn.
Only give us Thy own weapons, our Mother, Thy power to suffer and to trust.
Hence we wish difficult duties and pain that is hard to bear
Summon us to efforts whose fruit is not in success and to actions which fail and
yet find their price.
And at the end of our task let us proudly bring before Thee our work and lay it
Thy love the end that is ever free and life that is deathless.

Indian National Congress

The outstanding feature of the thirty-fourth session of the Indian National Congress which met at Amritsar, in the Punjab, during the last week in December, 1929, was the great awakening of the people, who courageously expressed themselves with regard to the constitutional character of the British Rule. Eight thousand delegates and twelve thousand visitors—in all twenty thousand enthusiastic people—came to the Congress. The President's address and the other important speeches were delivered in a great pandal, or common tent, erected for the occasion. As the capacity of the pandal was only fourteen thousand, a number of overflow meetings had to be held.

The occurrence of a shower that somewhat damaged the pandal, the Congress was opened on December 25th instead of on December 26th. The weather was not warm, the roads were muddy, and the lodging and boarding arrangements were inadequate for so great a throng, but the delegates and visitors overlooked all these in their earnest desire to extend sympathy and support to the people of the city and the provinces who had endured such terrible sufferings at the hands of a malignant government. The people of Amritsar were extraordinarily generous and kept all sorts and numbers of places open day and night for the benefit of their guests and spent no pains in making them feel at home.

Although the people had come there

in a gloomy, indignant and protesting temper, the proclamation of the King announcing a general amnesty to such of the Punjab leaders and other prisoners as the Viceroy saw "fit" to release, produced at least a partial effect. The All-India Muslims, who had been summoned for three years, and most of the Punjab leaders were not here. All of these sent reassuring telegrams to the Congress and to the All-India Muslim League which met in Amritsar simultaneously with the Congress. Most of the released ones attended the Congress and the League, where they were received with the greatest enthusiasm. While the rejoicing was universal to see them back at was mingled with deep sorrowing for the hundreds and hundreds of innocent men, women and children who had lost their lives or been permanently crippled as victims of bands and machine guns, and for the men who had been deported to the Andaman Islands to pass away their lives.

In the Congress, Hindus and Mohammedans, Parsis and Christians, Sikhs and Buddhists all joined in the most fraternal spirit possible in discussing the problems confronting the nation, and in making plans for the future. The main session of the Congress was centered in two great matters, whose importance seemed to overshadow all others. These were the Punjab inquiry and the Government of India Act. All plans, all speeches and all resolutions were in one way or another related to these, and all were of a nature and

spirit to give meaning to the famous motto: return of India that the time has arrived when the Indian people could no longer content to have merely to their interests and needs without consulting them.

When the limited space at our disposal we can give only the most im-

portant things about the Congress and the Muslim League; but we hope to overlook nothing that is really essential. We shall treat separately the two great problems which were before both bodies: (1) The Causes and Results of the "Rebellion" of 1919, and (2) The Government of India Act.

Causes of the "Rebellion"

The President of the Indian National Congress, beginning his address with the situation in the Punjab, made a brief survey of the political background of the Province, in order to show the relation of public indignation to the Government and how the latter's attitude has influenced the former. One of the foremost reasons why the Punjab has been a special object of suspicion is its proximity to the frontiers. This location of the Province has served the Government as an excuse for enacting any kind of arbitrary legislation that it has desired, on the ground of "protecting the area from external aggression."

Other causes which led ultimately to the recent disturbances were those which have stirred the whole of India to indignation protest for the last twelve or fifteen years. First among these is the partition of Bengal effected by Lord Curzon. This aroused deep resentment throughout India. The introduction of what was termed a "Criminalising Bill" in the Punjab Legislative Council added to the resentment and the discontent. This bill aimed to curtail the valuable vested rights of the so-called *zamindars*, and to deprive them of the fruits of their labor by which they had converted

the desolate waste around Lyallpur into a smiling garden. A strong agitation arose over the passage of the bill, in connection with which there was some rioting, and the effect of "The Punjab" was arrested and converted. It was at this time that Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, against whom no accusation was made, were deported without trial.

In many years there has been no lack of weapons of repression in the armory of the Punjab Government. These were freely used during the years from 1902 to 1910. The methods adopted were the suppression of the press and the prosecution of individuals unacceptable to the Government. Under such conditions, of course, there could be little manifestation of public life in the Punjab during the years from 1902 to 1912.

Thus came the appointment of Sir Michael O'Dwyer to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Province, a man who by nature was an intolerant and impatient and who seemed to have a special genius for stirring up trouble. Very early in his reign (begin in the right word) occurred the famous *Khatkhata Mass Incident*. A large group of Punjabians who had congregated

to Canada and had been refused permission to land, returned to the Punjab. On reaching home many of these men were arrested and tried, a considerable number were sentenced to death, and others were transported for life to the Andaman Islands.

With the beginning of the war Sir Michael "disappeared the edge of his political reputation" by getting "occasionally out measures" through the Legislative Council of India, for purposes of his administration. These measures almost wiped out all free measures of public sentiment and arrested the press and alliance. At last the Rowlatt Act made an appearance. What public sentiment was in the Punjab, and in all India, regarding this, our readers already know. The President of the Congress has summarised the main features of the act as follows:

1. It invests the Government with "extra powers" to enable it to deal with "unrested and revolutionary movement."
2. By this Act the ordinary mode of trial is superseded by a "summary trial" which is accomplished by doing away with conventional proceedings and the right of appeal. This does not give any chance to the accused to leave the case against him and have the prosecution made to prove it.
3. No right of appeal is allowed even when judges differ, but death sentence can not be passed when only differences exist.
4. The case against the accused is to be proceeded with in camera.
5. The fact that a person is concerned in any movement "temporarily called revolutionary or anarchistic" is in the first instance to be determined behind his back and later on, when his case is referred to the investigating magistrate he is to be given an opportunity to appear at any stage (but all the stages) of the proceedings which are to be held in camera. The magistrate's sentence is not to be allowed to be opposed or appealed, he may not be told the name of his prisoner nor even all the facts on which the sentence is based, and is not entitled

as a matter of right to examine any witness or produce any document of the accused or any authority concerned in summary trial.

6. No appeal of this the investigating authority is not required to discuss the merits of the facts of evidence and its appeal is allowed from all findings.

7. Finally power is given to arrest any one and search any place wherever and to conduct any person under arrest in jail.

Besides the injuries inflicted upon the people through such a piece of legislation as the Rowlatt Act, the Punjab police suffered enormously from the method of recruitment of soldiers adopted by the O'Dwyer administration during the war period. And the President of the Congress:

In the name of patriotism and the empire, methods were employed which were of the very worst character. These would only have been justified in the Punjab either by the direct invasion or occupation of Sir Michael O'Dwyer or by intervention, notwithstanding in the face of revolt. The truth of the Punjab saying—"His long tobacco pipe goes of representing his soldier will inflict a rain of misery"—was fully realised in the course of this atrocious period. Sir Michael O'Dwyer made up his mind to secure the disruption of India, the foremost involving amongst in India, and gave permission, first given to most sanguine methods. This was the Punjab Government against the Government of India. Sir Michael O'Dwyer's campaign now leads to death.

With public opinion against all the legislative measures of repression, with popular discontent on all sides resulting from oppressive recruitment, and with increasing poverty and famine—such all these—the result could well be guessed. At this time, too, came the message of Rhyaspathi such an effort to deliver appearance by "truth, truthfulness and non-violence." What the effect of this great movement has been, our readers have learnt from time to time during the course of the last six months.

Results of the "Rebellion"

(Another Tale of Horror)

By N. S. HASANAH.

The more we read about the brutal methods of oppression of the British Government in India the more does our blood boil and the devil is in our hearts for revenge. But the devil is quickly superseded by a better demon which our race has not yet lost. "No revenge," the old man says, "be calm and patient, by your good, reasonable and kindly deeds show you get rid of the devil, whether he be British or German." But how long, tell the battle between the devil and the kindly elements in Man continues when the Indian world is full of people of the type of Chakrabarti, O'Dwyer and Dyer who are ready to say, "Shoot and shoot well," and are even unwilling to take care of the wounded? There is a limit to everything. When once the limit is passed the devil element in man is likely to get the upper hand, and revenge is only too liable to follow. As we review the warlike acts have taken place in India during 1919 and that have been made known to the world by Lord Hunter's Investigating Committee, it seems as if that the limit has been almost reached.

The conclusions of British officers before the said committee have revealed at least a part of the truth, were enough to show to the world the extent to which an Englishman can go in order to do his "duty" and to "preserve the integrity of his Empire." This official version of the facts does a heartrending and deterring. Speaking of these shocking revelations, Mr. Wilson, the President of the last

Indian National Congress, pertinently asked: "What words can I use to express your feelings and mine, whose hearts and brains have been sorely torn down by the hundreds of cold blood? Will my words be given in the words of the Persian poet—

"Our country flooded with sorrow and war,
O, no not land, war!
Aches, and hot affliction and agonies gal,
O, no not land, war!
With the blood of our men killed in the
after,

The moon shines not,
Hill, plain, and garden blood-red glow,
O, no not land, war!

We have previously published the Delhi, Lahore, Amritsar and Calcutta wide accounts, and now we have before us the official evidence regarding Kanur, another city in the Punjab which experienced the same hand of the British autocrat. Referring to the operation of martial law at Kanur, Lord Hunter's Committee questioned Captain Dwyer and his associates who were in "duty."

Capt. Dwyer confessed that since people were made to watch the ground with their torches by way of making them believe judge authority, he also believed that he had heard of "British or English men" have shot down.

The Deputy Superintendent of Police at Kanur, Ahmed Khan, admitted that off the acts of himself and his subordinates had been done under the orders of Capt. Dwyer.

Ahmad Khan told that one of his partners were made to go down on all fours and drive nails with their chest. This was done by Captain Dwyer's orders. Some persons were threatened and made to stand in the sun. He could not say what sort of law was used.

He further stated that there were times when as many as ten persons were kept in a cage at once.

But he did not make any mention of the fact that these cages were extremely small, that the people were even obliged to answer calls of nature just when they were, and that they were exposed to the burning sun.

Mr. Mehta, an extra assistant Commissioner, in his evidence substantiated the truth of the above statements. He said:

"That the Martial Law administration had subjected all sorts of heavy punishments. We know of further (religious men) being flogged. In no case the prisoners of the men were called to witness flogging. That was done by Captain Dorewell's order."

Captain Dorewell and Mr. Marston (another sub-divisional officer) were questioned by the Investigating Commission regarding floggings of children which had occurred. Both admitted that the "school children were flogged to ensure they were all enrolled." Mr. Marston said that:

"The headmaster was an old, feeble man, unable to do anything. The teachers seemed to be loath to attend the school. After the trouble, students became much obedient in the schools. The headmaster asked for a military guard. Students had done nothing, he pointed out, but he thought that they were still scared. About six days after the riot the headmaster of two high schools ordered six boys of the most mischievous descriptions and of the lowest class to be whipped. The officers commiserated in disapproving the action, chose six of students from among all boys present. The boys were put six minutes and the small boys three."

Capt. Dorewell said that three children were sent back by the school to be punished by him. He thought it better they should be punished in the presence of the whole school. He gave, in many cases a considerable number of floggings, two years imprisonment and a financial report in due

The school children who were whipped for their "delinquency" must have known a good lesson in patriotism and repression. Not only were children whipped, but a marriage party was given the same "treatment."

Both Capt. Dorewell and Mr. Marston continued their evidence before the commission and tried to establish the fact that Martial Law was necessary at that time. Dorewell limited his deeds and all his evils. He explained our men to this extent: these were the worst, and were called the same punishment upon religious officers. He mentioned some to have been, and claimed that they "were nothing observed under military law."

Again Mr. Marston admitted that a school had been opened in public space which it was contemplated to protect certain people. The school was abandoned, however, under the order of Government. The school was reopened after a while.

Undoubtedly these affidavits are the synthetic representations of the imperialistic, scientific, civilised methods employed by the foreign rulers of the land to convince them under their government that their rule exists in India is the "harmony and tranquillity of the people of the province."

The "civilised and Christian" were of the officials did not end here. Mr. Marston confessed that many villages were raided and many arrests made. The arrests took place between 12 and 4 o'clock at night.

In the above we have given for the most part the actual words of the commissioners of the officers, and have described exactly, though very briefly, the horrors they inflicted upon the people. In order to simplify the whole story of the atrocities connected with the Rowlatt Act, we summarise. Further on, the

military operations not only in Kashmir but also in Delhi, Lahore, Amritsar and Gurgaon. In doing so, however, we do not include the worst atrocities of all, namely, the flog, by the military upon unarmed crowds assembled for peaceful purposes, and the burning and murdering of men, women and children.

Readers should not forget that what we give is only as much as the officials have seen fit to reveal to the world. When the Investigating Commission appointed by the Indian National Congress make their report, more horrors may be expected. And the chance of it all is that instead of trying the men who committed these outrages and violating on them the just penalties of their guilt, the Government persisted in using to pass an Emergency Act, whereby they were shielded from all punishment for their crimes. No unapproached scenes rendering the whole situation will be surprised that the Indian National Congress, meeting on the very spot where some of the worst atrocities were committed, demanded the recall of the Viceroy who was the original "law-giver," and the dismissal from the military service of General Dyer, who fired the Punjab with blood in a manner that will never be forgotten.

Perhaps we ought to add that the whole Indian nation has been aroused by these atrocities and slaughter as it has never been aroused since the days of the rule of the Moghuls. There is a very widespread demand, especially among the younger generation, for the trial and punishment of every official, from the Viceroy down, who had any responsibility for what took place. We shall see what will happen.

The following is a very brief summary of the chief acts of savagery in the Punjab and elsewhere as a result of the Rowlatt Act:

1. People were made to walk on all fours.
2. Men and women were forced to crawl on their bellies.
3. Soldiers (religious men) were lime-washed and exposed to the burning sun, so that the lime-wash might burn in their skin.
4. School boys were flogged and forced to walk across miles a day, when, by official acknowledgment, had committed no offence whatsoever. A marriage party was also flogged.
5. Men were made to draw loads on the earth with their noses.
6. Children were executed in public places as a warning to the people and for the "advancement of their good conduct."
7. Old men and women were made to strip (Gang), sometimes as many as twenty times, without break, and then to climb ladders.
8. Hundreds of people were shot up in cages for many hours in summer sun, with their faces turned to the burning sun.
9. Inhabitants were flogged in public for the deterioration and moral improvement of prostitutes assembled to watch the performance.
10. Poor people were ordered to sing and to compose poems in honour of their murderers.
11. Villages were raided and homes raided all.

The Government of India Act

The important thing here is to make better public opinion for their own sake. They have the means and the power at their disposal to do their "able" task and to make the people accept what they offer.

A recent example of such a campaign propaganda of the British imperialists is seen in the news that has been spread about in this country that India has been granted Home Rule. It is a negro-colored pill that has been administered to those who were sick of imperialism and are tired of talk about high idealism. It is not Home Rule for India that the Government of India provides, but more efficient British Rule and greater security for that rule.

The whole history of the Government of India Act of 1919, which was passed by both the House of the British Parliament, in December last are the following:

The Central Government

1. The Executive Council of the Government (which corresponds to the Cabinet in the country) will have three Indian members instead of one as heretofore. There will be six British officials as against three Indians.
2. The Legislature has been introduced into two divisions.
 - a) The Council of State will consist of not more than fifty members chosen and so elected.
 - b) The Legislative Assembly will consist of one hundred and thirty members. One hundred of these will be elected.

(As regards power conferred upon these Chambers we refer the reader to President Nehru's remarks on page 66.)

The Provincial Government

1. Doubly (in system of double form of government) has been introduced in the form of "Reserved" and "Transferred" subjects.

- a) "Reserved" subjects will be controlled by the Governor and his Council which will consist of two members, one British and one Indian.
- b) "Transferred" subjects will be controlled by Indian Ministers appointed by the Governor of the Province for the first two years and then elected by the Legislative Council. These subjects are Education, Sanitation, secondary and in some provinces University) Industries (except for those, mines, railways, shipping, agriculture including, railways, ports, markets, currency, and electricity, and Agriculture (except for grains, water storage and land revenue).

- (As to the nature and scope of these subjects we refer the reader to President Nehru's remarks on page 66.)
2. The Provincial Legislative Council will consist of at least 60% elected members. The elected house is elected on party of Indian members.

(The powers conferred upon these members refer to President Nehru's remarks on page 66.)

General

1. Only 10% of the total population of India is enfranchised by the Act.
2. The Act provides for the payment of salary of Secretary of State member-councillors and any other expenses of his department out of money provided by Parliament, instead of from the revenues of India as heretofore.

From the above it will be seen that most changes have been made in the form of both the Central and Provincial Governments of India. But how far do these changes go? They do not satisfy the Indian people who "had demanded a full hand of bread and re-

ceived only crumbs." The Indian National Congress in its session in Amritsar has pronounced the verdict that the new Act is "inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing." The following resolutions, with four changes, were passed by the Congress after a discussion of an hour which was started upon the word "disappointing," and upon the fourth change.

Resolved,

1. That the Congress reiterates its declaration of last year that India is fit for full responsible Government and requires all opportunities and conditions to the contrary wherever possible.

2. That the Congress adheres to the resolution passed at the Delhi Congress regarding constitutional reforms, and is of opinion that the Indian Act is inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing.

3. That the Congress further urges that Parliament should take early steps to establish full Responsible Government in India in accordance with the principle of self-determination.

4. Pending such introduction, the Congress trusts that, so far as may be possible, the people will so work the reforms as to secure the early establishment of full Responsible Government, and its Congress when in India to the Right Hon. E. S. Montagu for his labors in connection with the reforms.

In according the above resolutions without the last clause which was an amendment, Mr. B. G. Tilak, the Nagpur leader, said in substance:

"The Government of India has a simply a narrow province and the line of its duty that which is possible is attainable. We want now clearly to define not only here but in the whole world that we are not satisfied with the Act. We want ourselves are satisfied. We demand more we must continue to demand more, that we want the world to understand. Let us not decrease the nature of things by proceeding with the reforms given the late that has been done out to us."

Mr. M. Nehru, the President of the Congress, in his Presidential address

demanded at length the Government of India Act, taking up an address before me by me and commencing upon such. He said in part:

"The Act is not based upon the wishes of the people of India, and as previously said the object of the demands made by the Congress. In many respects the requirements have been partially met. Let us not believe the good that the Act does us. We must recognize that it gives us some power, and upon its main features of amnesty for us which heretofore have been closed to before. I venture to say that our first step in these circumstances is to make the most of what we have got, and at the same time to move on to more, correctly for what is not done. As Mr. Montagu Montagu has said:

"The advantage of whatever reforms are introduced into the Government of the country, the first a better and a more progressive for the nation and for every one concerned here and you regularly people based by some of the provisions in which we have taken exception, and go on using your efforts to get what you want."

The President of the Congress further said:

"The Act as I have pointed out, gives in some power but it does not give us full responsibility as power to elect the members to the Executive of the functions of law and order. No constitution can meet our needs unless it is accompanied with a guarantee and a clear declaration of our elementary rights which have recently been so rightly included in the French. No Indian can be blind to the fact that the provision of our fundamental rights is a matter of the most urgent consciousness. We therefore are that we have to the nation must necessarily securing the faith of the Indian people in the possibility of their rights to extending. In this sense Indian conditions about it is important for this Congress to state that without a repeal of the existing provisions but and a guarantee of the larger responsibility of our civil rights, no reform in the constitutional machinery of the country can be expected as satisfying our elementary requirements. They will not break the rule of the rights of any large range of nation that will in any time be guaranteed in the country by a more stable structure."

Explanation

This chart shows the total number of delegates to the Indian National Congress from 1885 to 1923. The number of delegates has increased from 1885 to 1923.

Generally, when the number of delegates has increased, the number of delegates has also increased. This is because the number of delegates has increased from 1885 to 1923.

This chart has been followed by a table, which is also in government. The number of delegates has increased from 1885 to 1923.



Year

lands who desire to understand India, and to acquire themselves with. The object of this article is to give brief answers to these important questions.

The Congress meets annually in some one of the larger cities of the country for a season of from three to five days during the hot week in December. Its recent meeting at Amritsar in the Punjab (North-West India) was its thirty-fourth session. During all its history it has been the one great political assemblage of the nation no other has even approached it in importance. Its meetings are India's great political event of each year.

Mr. Barclay Hargreave, an eminent English lawyer who has lived long in India, thus describes the origin and early history of the Congress.

"In the year 1885, some seventy-two Indian gentlemen assembled in Bombay to consult together over the state of commerce and pressing political matters of their fellow-countrymen. These men had been much influenced by English culture and English civilization, and their thoughts were drawn to a considerable degree from the same fountain source whence Englishmen were inspired with dreams of freedom and self-government.

"The next year (1886) 412 representatives gathered at Calcutta. The number rose in 1887 to 500 at Madras, and in 1888, curiously enough, to nearly the same number in Bombay. That was the year when Sir William Wedderburn presided, and when educated India turned to the paternal magnanimity of Charles Bradlaugh, who was visiting India after a very severe illness at home. In 1889, 650 delegates assembled at

Calcutta in 1890, 800 at Nagpur; in 1891, 800 at Allahabad; in 1892, 800 at Lahore, and in 1893, at Madras, 1200 sat under the presidency of Mr. Alfred Webb, a householder member of the British Parliament, who survived a strong inclination over his horizon. In 1894, Poona welcomed 1,000 delegates.

"These men travelled long distances, some of them as many as 1,000 or 1,500 miles, at their own expense, to meet and discuss what to their opinions were serious and pressing questions of national freedom, commerce and industry and the appearance of these groups of many hundreds of men of all classes, races and religions, grouped in the diverse dress and varied headquarters of the various subdivisions of India. At Allahabad I remember some being greatly impressed as I smoked my pipe over my early morning tea and a group of men stood up at a Brahmin from Southern India, two Parsis from Bombay, a Mahomedan from Lucknow, a member of the Indian Service from Calcutta, and a Sikh from Lahore. We all discussed together in excellent English the complex political questions of the day.

"No one who has sat through a Congress can fail to have been struck with the unanimity of its proceedings, the constant allusion to the chair, the remarkable gifts of speech and readiness of debate which I have found a common characteristic to be met with only of the best tradition of the best bench of the House of Commons in London. The meetings of the Congress are always unimpaired by the numerous which sustain the members, British officials may disagree, yet may disagree, with some of the opinions expressed.

Now the first is it true that the men who are selected to speak are in the main experts in the subjects with which they deal. Their statements are fortified in weight, in being the outcome of varied personal experience, and told for the most part at the risk of much hostile and dangerous criticism. As presentations of the "Indian side" of the questions under discussion, in comparison of what educated India believes to be and declares to be her urgent political, industrial and economic needs, they form the most valuable library of reference and information within reach of the British reader of India—at only those rates were wise enough to avail themselves of it.¹²

Mr. Narain gives the number of delegates present at the Poona Congress in 1919 as 1,244. Even that time the number has sometimes sunk below those figures, but sometimes it has come very much above them. At Bombay, in 1915, it rose to 2,250, at Lucknow, in 1918 to 2,520, and at Amritsar in 1919 to more than 5,000. It should be borne in mind that these numbers do not mean attendance at the Congress, but delegates and their contributions in distinctly representative capacities. The attendance on usually several days in many, often reaching 5,000, 6,000, and 7,000, and at Amritsar they seem to have exceeded 30,000.

Of course, no halls or public buildings can be found capable of accommodating such numbers. As a result the practice of the Congress Committee from the beginning has been to meet each year in a hotel or on a common site, as an outdoor arena for the Congress sessions, and a large group of smaller tents to accommodate the delegates. These canvas

cities, strewed with many colored flags and streamers, and located on green or fields or public parks, are picturesque sights.

Where do the delegates come from? From absolutely every part of India. What does that mean? There is no one strict rule they are chosen by societies and organizations of almost every kind, the only requirement being that they shall be really representatives of the communities from which they come. Of what religions are they? Of every religion that India knows. Hindus in largest numbers, of course; Mahomedans next, then Jains, Buddhists, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians, Arya Samajists, Brahmo-Samajists, Theosophists. Of what cities are the Hindu delegates? Benares are the most numerous, but all cities are represented, and also "sanctaries" at those places of Hinduism that are regarded as below all caste. Of what vocations or callings are the delegates? Possibly lawyers are the most numerous, as they are likely to be in such professions as all kinds. But besides lawyers there are many others, professors in colleges and other teachers, accountants, or large land holders, business men of all types, including representatives of every calling. In the more recent Congresses there have been greatly increased numbers of workmen from factories and mills, and even or small farmers. Thus it is no exaggeration to call the Indian National Congress a body that truly represents the India of today.

For the achievement of what ends does the Congress have its existence? An authoritative statement of the objects of the Congress in the words of those who organized it, may be obtained

from the Presidential address of Mr. W. C. Bonney, its first President. We find Mr. Bonney saying:

"The objects of the Congress may be its most justly to be viewed under the following heads:

(1) The promotion of personal contacts and breaking through of the many narrow barriers for the union of India in its different parts of the Empire.

(2) The exhibition, by deep friendly intercourse, of true ideal and personal sympathy existing among Indians, and the development of sentiments of national unity.

(3) An authoritative record of the progress achieved by Indian education, of the material expansion of the Indian community, and the passing of moral opinions of the day.

(4) The demonstration of the laws upon which and the methods by which, during the better months following each Congress meeting, a career desirable for Indian political leaders to take in the public interest.

If we follow the history of the Congress from the beginning down to the present day we find that all these objects enumerated by its first President have been kept steadily in mind. And yet, as time altogether passed and desirable, other objects of importance, suggested by changing conditions in the country, have demanded and received the attention of the Congress. These newer objects have been increasingly pointed in their nature, and particularly have they taken the form of constantly multiplying protest against the autocracy and irresponsible rule to which India is subjected, and a steadily growing demand that the people be granted more share in their own government.

The present Constitution of the Congress, adopted in 1926 and amended in 1931 and 1934, brings out this change clearly. Says Article I of the Constitution:

"The objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self governing members of the British Empire, and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire as such union with Great Britain. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means, by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and development and expanding the educational, moral, economic and cultural resources of the country."

In harmony with the opening words of the present Constitution, we find the Congress in all its later meetings dealing strongly with all important political questions bearing upon the welfare or progress of India, pointing out respectfully but clearly the injustices and wrongs that the Indian people regard themselves as suffering, and are especially pressing their demand for home-rule like that of Canada, Australia and South Africa.

It has been the fortune of the present writer to attend two sessions of the Indian National Congress, that of 1919 at Poona and that of 1933 at Karachi. Truth compels me to say that I never attended more orderly or more dignified gatherings, and I carefully guard my words when I say that I never heard better speaking in any great public body, not even in the British Parliament or the Congress of the United States.

There is no denying that the Congress has always been marked by the high ability of its leaders. As to the dignity and decorum with which its meetings have been conducted, there has been no exception, only one. That was at Lucknow in 1917, when a serious controversy arose between two opposing parties, resulting in bitter words, some physical

violence and a temporary division of the Congress into two bodies known on the one hand as "Moderates" and on the other as "Radicals" or "Extremists." Not taking the meetings of the Congress as a whole, from the beginning until

now, their proceedings and their discussions have been carried on with a degree of moderation, candor, and courtesy toward all parties and toward the Government, far exceeding what is often witnessed in public political bodies in England or in America.

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